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SUBJECT: JOINT WEEKA NO. 6

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EXTERNAL - POLITICAL

1. Soviet Foreign Relations. The Western Hemisphere occupied the spotlight position in foreign news coverage in the Soviet press during the period of February 1 - 8. Much space was devoted to Cuba and the aftermath of the Punta del Este Conference, which was characterized as a "diplomatic Waterloo" for the US, but which, if an intelligent Soviet citizen read between the lines, could be seen as a development presenting new problems for the expansion of Soviet influence in Latin America through Cuba and Castro. Khrushchev chose to reveal his whereabouts to the Soviet public for the first time in 26 days by giving an interview to the Brazilian Charge d'Affaires in Sochi. Although Khrushchev may have special reasons for wanting to see the Brazilian representative, the choice of a Latin American for an interview to prove to the Soviet people and to the world that he is alive and healthy, and thus to brush off rumors that he was shot at by a would-be assassin, underlined current Soviet preoccupation with Latin America.

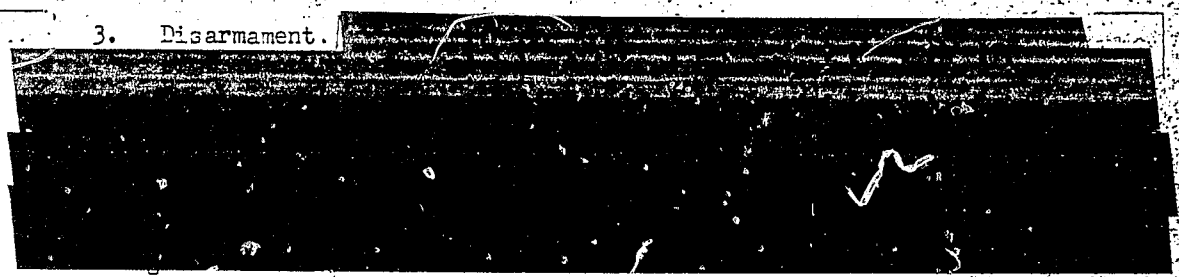
No major developments came to light in the sphere of the Soviet-Chinese quarrel. However, newspapers and journals kept up a steady barrage of articles attacking dogmatism-sectarianism and a wide range of theoretical propositions espoused by the Albanians and Chinese Communists.

The 80th anniversary of President Roosevelt's birth, which Soviet propaganda made much of the previous week, was not permitted to drop out of sight. Pravda and Izvestiya published the text of Mrs. Roosevelt's reply to Khrushchev's telegram on February 7 and other papers reported it, singling out those passages which might be used to bolster the Soviet contention that Roosevelt would have favored "peaceful coexistence" were he alive today. A Pravda article by Mamedov on Feburary 8 urged President Kennedy to follow FDR's footsteps, to adopt an attitude of realism toward the USSR's alleged superiority of military and moral strength in the world, and to repudiate the advocates of a hard policy, among which Secretaries Rusk and MacNamara were identified. Meanwhile Attorney General Kennedy's tour of various foreign countries was presented as a difficult assignment of attempting to bolster crumbling US positions around the world.

2. Cuba. The Soviet press gave extremely heavy coverage to Cuba following up on the Punta del Este Conference. The main themes were: Soviet solidarity with the Cuban people, the inevitability of democratic revolutions throughout Latin America, and claims that Punta del Este was a defeat for the US. The full text of the "Second Havana Declaration" was printed in Pravda and full coverage was given to CASTRO and DORTICOS speeches, as well as the Soviet-Cuban statements in the UN debate on Cuba's charges against the US.

The press material appears generally defensive in tone and seems to reflect a recognition that the conference will be followed by the increasing isolation (and therefore diminishing utility) of Cuba. No notice was taken of Castro's avowal of Marxism-Leninism, nor was the 1960 Khrushchev threat to support Cuba with rockets alluded to.

3. Disarmament.



Article on Disarmament: The current issue of Mezhdunarodnaya Zhizn (International Life) carries an article by S. Yefimov strongly criticizing the concepts of arms control and deterrence being discussed in numerous US journals. Yefimov contends that all arms control schemes deny the possibility and necessity of complete and general disarmament, especially as that concept is avowed by the Soviet Union. He also alleges that doctrines of deterrence are aggressive and anti-Soviet in their orientation. In his view, the effectiveness of the new 18-nation disarmament committee will depend largely on the US, but the outlook is dim since the US apparently still adheres firmly to the concept of arms control.

Yefimov did, however, give some indication that the Soviets were developing arguments and proposals to counter anticipated Western suggestions regarding measures which might be implemented at an early stage of the disarmament process. He criticized US advocates of arms control, for example, for not saying anything about measures dealing with (1) a ban on the use of nuclear weapons, (2) the cessation or curtailment of military production, (3) the cessation of scientific research on the improvement of weapons or the creation of new types, and (4) the liquidation of foreign military bases.

At the outset of the disarmament negotiations, the Soviets are likely to focus attention on their proposals for general and complete disarmament. Such an approach would not, however, exclude the early introduction of a series of separate measures along lines suggested by Yefimov and in the Soviet eight-point memorandum submitted at the UN on September 26, 1961. Variants of the proposals contained in a draft resolution submitted by the Poles at the 15th Session of the UN may also be advanced by the Soviets in the negotiations.

4. Nuclear Tests. The Soviet press has carried no announcement or information which would tend to confirm Western reports that the Soviets may have recently conducted an underground nuclear test. In the meantime, however, the Soviet press, as heretofore, promptly reports the short announcements released by the Atomic Energy Commission regarding the carrying out of US underground tests. Much attention is also given in the Soviet press to protest meetings being held in the West against the possible conduct of atmospheric tests by the US.

5. Berlin/Germany. The only significant commentary on Berlin or Germany to appear during the week was another "Observer" article in Izvestiya (Feb.3) by Polyanov on the Gromyko-Thompson talks. The Soviet columnist, who has commented on each of the meetings so far, repeated his criticism of the US for

adhering to its previous positions and not accepting the free city proposal. He attacked the purported Western demand for "uncontrol" access" and maintenance of the occupation statute, and hinted that the Soviet Union would negotiate with Bonn since talks with the Western powers are apparently futile.

6. Finnish Elections. The results of Finland's parliamentary elections have been interpreted by the Soviet press as proof of the popularity of a foreign policy based on friendship and cooperation with the USSR. The election gains by the Agrarians, and over-all increase by 200,000 votes garnered by the three parties (Agrarians, Peoples' Democratic Union, and Social Democratic opposition), described as supporters of the PAASAKIVI-KEKKONEN line, are cited as proof of this contention. The loss of three seats by the Communist-run PDU was dismissed as a "technicality of bourgeois democracy."

7. Iran. A TASS despatch from Rome cited the Italian journal Paese to report that the Iranian cabinet had taken a decision during January to create special shock detachments to suppress the student movement. The despatch also reported that the Shah believed that this would compromise the position of Prime Minister Amini and would provide an opportunity to replace him with General Backtiar. The despatch claimed that the British Ambassador supported the viewpoint of the Shah while US Ambassador Holmes supported the position of Amini, who believed that the use of political repression would serve as a means to strengthen his power and influence in Iran.

8. Italy - "Opening to the Left". The Soviet press, obviously displeased with developments regarding the Italian Government, nevertheless treated the decision to form a new government with Socialist support cautiously. Soviet criticism concentrated on the Christian Democratic Party's motives for the decision -- which are ascribed to a determination to undermine the CPI and to split the "democratic mass organizations." The decision by the Socialists to join in this coalition attributed to the efforts of "Nenni's Supporters." Pravda said that the Socialists received only vague promises in exchange for their support of this bourgeoise coalition.

9. Laos. Within the framework of its usual practice of saying little about Laotian developments, the Soviet press indicated that efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement in Laos have not been going smoothly owing to alleged cease-fire violations by Phoumi involving the use of Thai, South Vietnam and Chinese Nationalist troops and US officers.

INTERNAL - POLITICAL

10. Leadership: The week was a-flutter with rumor and report:

KHRUSHCHEV, whom Pravda's front page on February 8 demonstratively pictured smiling and gesticulating at the Brazilian Charge d'Affaires, was clearly near Sochi, on February 7, after nearly a month during which his activities were reported only once: on January 26, when he received the head of a Burmese economic delegation, U CHIN, at Kiev -- although the Soviet press, oddly, did not disclose the place of their meeting.

During the last three days of January, rumors began circulating among Soviet citizens in Moscow that an attempt had been made to assassinate him. (Embassy's A-623, February 2), perhaps while he was in Byelorussia during the second and third weeks of January, but, in any case, sometime "during the past four weeks." Although even this aspect of the incident was initially the subject of contradictory reports, it now appears that the Moscow correspondent of the Italian Communist Party's newspaper l'Unita sent the story to his newspaper on February 6. Although he had been persistently alerted to the rumors by a number of his "usually reliable" Soviet sources, he covered his tracks by checking with his Western Colleagues, asking them "Have you heard ...?" When they acknowledged that they had, but had not sent the story for fear of reprisals from the Foreign Ministry's Press Department, he himself sent it based upon "reports circulating among Western correspondents." The Foreign Ministry denied the story as "ridiculous" and "dangerous", no doubt using the latter word to convey a warning to non-Communist correspondents who might be tempted to belabor it.

V. M. MOLOTOV was reported to have returned home on or about February 6 after a stretch in the clinic of Dr. A. I. KHRIMLIAN with the grippe. Khrimlian's clinic, it was said, is located some 18 kilometers out of Moscow, and is not to be confused with the Kremlin's clinic in Moscow, as had been done at the outset by a Western correspondent whose ear proved to be insensitive to the Russian language.

K. Ye. VOROSHILOV's name also popped up twice more. As "one of the oldest leaders of the Communist Party", he was the second choice of Soviet of the Union election district No. 29, at Kashira, Moscow Oblast, to run in the March 18 Supreme Soviet elections. First choice: N. S. Khrushchev (Leninskoye znamya, February 8). The organ of the Ministry of Defense, Red Star (Feb. 7), provided the counterpoint to Voroshilov's nomination by accusing him of disseminating a false picture of STALIN's military contributions in his 1929 pamphlet "Stalin and the Red Army." Unlike those members of the Party's central organs who were dropped at the XXII CPSU Congress - ARISTOV, FURTSEVA, IGNATOV, KIRILENKO, MUKHITDINOV, POSPELOV, and KALNBERZIN -- all of them deputies to the expiring Supreme Soviet who have not yet been reported in the press as having received nominations, Voroshilov now seems a good bet to be returned to the Supreme Soviet -- although only as the representative of Kashira district, and not from his present prestigious constituency, Kirov district of Leningrad.

The anomaly of Voroshilov's nomination paralleled continuing evidence of disagreement between the Soviet Communist Party's two leading ideologists: M.A. SUSLOV and L. F. ILYICHEV. The February publication of Suslov's report to the social-science conference (WEEKA No. 5, February 2) showed that, while some of the more striking differences between them (Embassy's Despatch No. 664, January 29) had been muted -- at least for public consumption, serious disagreement persists (see below).

Thus, to the accompaniment of dissonant strains, the Party marches towards its Central Committee plenum, set for March 5, the ninth anniversary of the death of I. V. Stalin.

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criticized the concept of an international administration of the Berlin autobahn. Subsequently Izvestiya on Dec. 3 published a long comment on the President's statements. The commentary specifically rejected the autobahn proposal, but said that the President's statement about the FRG not having nuclear weapons was very important if this could be implemented. While the tone of its comment was moderate, Izvestiya said that deeds, rather than words, are necessary to preserve peace over the German situation.

4. Nuclear Tests. On Dec. 4, the Soviet Government issued another statement which again called attention to its recent proposals amounting to a voluntary ban on nuclear testing in the atmosphere, outer space, under water, and under ground. The statement was clearly a propaganda document designed to place the onus on the West for the absence of a test ban. In its argumentation, the statement attempted to convey the impression that the Soviet proposals for the use of national detections systems to observe adherence to a test ban agreement was consistent with the atmospheric test ban offer made by President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan on Sept. 3. The West was again warned in the statement that the Soviet Union would be forced to resume testing if the West continued testing, including underground shots.

5. Austria. Pravda on December 1 published an editorial sharply criticizing the GOA announcement of its decision to seek association with the Common Market. According to Pravda such a step would result in an Austrian economic and political alliance with West Germany, which is prohibited in the State Treaty.

Some Moscow diplomats have been struck by the parallel in the Soviet attack on the Austrian decision and the Soviet intervention in the Finnish elections. Although the differences in the two situations are more important than the similarities, it seems clear both Soviet moves are at least partially designed to hinder the growth of the influence of the Common Market in these two neutral states.

6. Congo. According to the Soviet press of Dec. 2, the Soviet Red Cross offered to send food and medicine to the Congolese Government for the purpose of aiding victims of natural calamities in the Provinces of Equateur and Orientale. The Soviet offer included a proposal to send Soviet medical workers to the affected areas to combat outbreaks of cholera and malaria. Preparedness was expressed by the Soviets to send supplies and medical personnel immediately by means of a Soviet aircraft. The present offer is likely an attempt by the Soviets to establish Soviet physical presence in areas where Gizenga has some influence.

Not unexpectedly, the Soviet press exploited the charges made by Dr.O'Brien, who recently resigned from his UN position in the Congo. The Soviets asserted that these complaints presented clear evidence that France and the UK were supporting the separatist activities of Tshombe and thereby hindering the implementation of resolutions adopted by the Security Council of the UN.

7. Syria. Just before the elections for the Constituent Assembly in Syria, Pravda carried an article distinctly critical of the provisional Syrian government's failure to repeal a law prohibiting activities by political parties.

Also criticized was the failure of the government to release political prisoners, including a number of Communists, and to permit Syrian Communist leader Bakdash to remain in Damascus after his arrival by plane on Nov. 19. At the same time, the Pravda article spoke approvingly of the Syrian Government's announced policy of neutrality and non-alignment. Despite this criticism of Syrian internal policies, the Soviets can be expected to make a vigorous effort to promote state relations.

8. Latin America. After a delay of several days the Soviet press on Dec. 3 and 4 reported Castro's Dec. 1 speech in which he announced his intention to found a Marxist-Leninist Party and declared his adherence to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Blas Roca's speech on his two-month visit in the USSR and the significance of the CPSU Party Congress was also reported. Castro's public declaration, which apparently seeks to identify Cuba as a bloc member, seems to conflict with Soviet statements during the Party Congress which carefully avoided so identifying Cuba.

The OAS decision to hold a Foreign Minister's conference to consider the threat from Cuba was reported by the Soviet press in such a way as to imply the majority of the important governments were opposed to the decision. It was emphasized that the countries opposing or abstaining in the OAS vote represent more than half of Latin America's population.

Events in the Dominican Republic have been reported on a continuing basis. The presence of the US fleet off Santo Domingo has been used to fortify Soviet propaganda charges that Balaguer is a US puppet, hostile to the Dominican national liberation movement. Soviet readers have been given the impression Balaguer is about to be overthrown and replaced by a regime more positively disposed toward the USSR.

INTERNAL - POLITICAL

9. The Supreme Soviet Meets. Constitution Day and the opening of the USSR Supreme Soviet's budget-and-plan session were occasions for strong press emphasis upon the provisions of the Constitution and the new Party Program which "strengthen" Soviet democracy, already "the most perfect in the world."

All was not sweetness and light, however. Public media devoted an increasing amount of space and venom to anti-Western and anti-American propaganda (Embassy's Despatch No. 475, Dec. 5, 1961). Izvestiya (Dec. 7) risked evoking memories of the 1959 US Exhibition at Sokol'niki Park by publishing a purported letter from an indignant reader in Tbilisi, who contrasted present "persecution" of the American Communist Party with the Ramac answer that the Party was legal. (Publication of a picture of the Ramac answer card disclosed to the Soviet reader that the CPUSA had only 7,000 members.)

And the issue of the "anti-Party group" was belabored yet again. Speaking at the meeting of the aktiv of the Kirghiz CP in Frunze on Nov. 24, the Secretary of the Frunze City Party Committee, A. TOKOMBAYEV, voiced an indictment of D. T. SHEPILOV, quondam candidate-member of the Presidium of the CC-CPSU and Soviet Foreign Minister, who, after his fall from grace at the center, had

served as Director, "and later as Deputy Director," of the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences of the Kirghiz Republic. "For two years," according to TOKOMBAYEV, Shepilov "really did not work; in various ways, he acquired cheap authority. That is why the demand of the delegates of the Congress for the exclusion from the Party of participants in the anti-Party group is broadly supported at gatherings and meetings of the toilers of the city, devoted to the results of the work of the XXII Congress of the CPSU" (Sovetskaya Kirgiziya, Nov. 28, 1961).

The four rapporteurs and co-rapporteurs on the first agenda item at the Supreme Soviet session either did not mention the "anti-Party group" or talked of it in terms of the issue having been laid to rest. This approach to the "group" seemed to be consistent with the attendance at the session of K. Ye. VOROSHILOV, still a member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and with the publication in Pravda of December 7 of a photograph showing Voroshilov among members of the body's Presidium. Rumors that he had committed suicide had clearly been premature (WEEKA No. 48). A. I. KIRICHENKO was also seen at the session.

Rumors concerning FURTSEVA's position continued to circulate. On the basis of the fact that her name is no longer carried on the office directory in the Ministry of Culture, and of reports that she will take a year's leave of absence, it appears that Mme. Furtseva will not be functioning on the ministerial level for some time to come.

Indecisiveness and imprecision are the impressions conveyed by much of the backing and filling of official statements on the "anti-Party group" and the mode of leadership in vogue following the Party Congress. Indications from various spheres contribute to this impression. A recent American traveller found that in Donetsk (formerly Stalino), statues of Stalin still stand and there appears to be some hesitation in carrying to its logical conclusions the renaming of the city. The local hotel's "Paid" stamp still carries the old name.

At the Supreme Soviet session, some of the tributes to Khrushchev contain echoes of the extravagant praise addressed to him at the Congress, notwithstanding his own disclaimer of October 27 and Pravda's important collective-leadership article of November 21.

The twentieth anniversary of the defeat of the German armies in the battle for Moscow received wide attention in the press with articles by military leaders celebrating, first and foremost, the contributions made by subordinate troop commanders and the rank-and-file. Some of these commentaries used the occasion to call the strengthening of the defense of the USSR and of the might of the Soviet armed forces "the task of tasks" (e.g., Red Star, December 5), a line that received at least indirect support from some speakers at the Supreme Soviet, who said that "capital construction" was "the question of questions" (N. A. DYGAI, Izvestiya, December 7).

10. Emphasis on "Democracy" During Constitution Day and Opening of the Soviet Parliament. The near conjunction of the convocation of the USSR Supreme Soviet on Dec. 6 and Soviet Constitution Day on Dec. 5, provided the occasion

for much editorializing on the subject of "The Most Vital Democracy on Earth," the title of the Izvestiya lead article of December 4. That editorial emphasized Lenin's influence in the Constitution promulgated 25 years ago. Naturally, nothing was said about STALIN, the man whose name was once linked so closely to the Soviet Constitution. Perhaps the "building of Communism" is not the only reason frequent references to a new Constitution, now being worked out, are seen and heard.

Part of the credit for the elaborate praise given to "true" Soviet democracy undoubtedly can be traced to Communist sensitivity to the charge that the Soviet Bloc did not choose the Socialist system by its own free choice -- a charge to which the Soviets have been reacting strongly ever since the President's interview with Khrushchev's son-in-law was published. In its refutation of the President's remarks on Dec. 3, Izvestiya showed special sensitivity to the issue of free elections, but preferred to concentrate the discussion on the merits, as it saw them, of that question outside the borders of the USSR. Editorially, it continued to claim that, internally, the USSR is the most perfect functioning democracy yet developed on earth.

Pravda, on the other hand, in an important editorial feature covering three half pages on December 5, preferred to counter-attack, saying, "In a bourgeois society, democracy is narrow, false, restricted, hypocritical and lying, heaven for the rich, a trap and deception for the exploited, for the poor." On every possible occasion during the last two weeks, Western democracy has been associated with privilege for the monied and propertied classes. Admitting that "there was a time when, in the Soviet Union, there was an inequality in the voting privileges of the different strata of the population.../ and that/... the working class had a clear advantage under the electoral system in the Soviets...", the regime now asserts that all of the institutions of socialist democracy are able to function correctly. It was in this context that, on December 6, Izvestiya, reporting the opening of the Supreme Soviet, took special note of the fact that all parliamentary rules were being observed:

"Observing strict Constitutional order, the chairmen of both chambers of the Soviet parliament preside over the meeting which approves the agenda and the regulations of the session."

Most of the current propaganda attempts to suggest to the Soviet reader that his "democracy" is responsive to him personally, as opposed to "bourgeois democracy" which allies itself with monopolistic interests and dictators of the breed of BATISTA, SALAZAR, and the like. Typically, Sel'skaya Zhizn' of December 5, 1961, publishes a picture of the Chairman of the "N.S.Khrushchev" Kolkhoz, with an article in which he quotes the name-sake of his farm as saying, "Every worker, every peasant, every intellectual can say: the government is us, ourselves -- its policy is our policy--the task of developing and strengthening it, of defending it from every kind of encroachment, that is our common goal."

11. RSFSR Supreme Court Considers Cheaters, Falsifiers, and Corrective Labor Colonies. On December 2, the RSFSR Supreme Court, under the chairmanship of A. T. RUBICHEV, discussed judical experience growing out of the problem of account-padding, which, for the early months of 1961, provided the subject of

so many sensational exposes of corruption (Izvestiya, December 3, 1961). Referring to the USSR Decree of May 24, 1961, a law which provided penalties for those who distort official plan statistics (Embassy's A-911, May 26, 1961), the Supreme Court indicated that one of the primary duties of a court looking into the account falsification is to take measures to eliminate the causes for the crime.

The court thus officially acknowledges continuing concern for dishonesty of this type. Numerous cases of account falsification are still being given a fairly high volume of publicity in the press. Often these reports are tied directly to appeals to improve performance. For example, one of the more recent reports in the press concerning account juggling also attacks the low level of organization, low quality of work, and low level of mechanization of construction in the city of Osh, Kirgizia (Sovetskaya Kirgizia, December 2, 1961).

During its session, the RSFSR Supreme Court also took up the problem of passing sentences to be served at corrective-labor colonies. None of the details were offered in abbreviated reports of the plenum, but since discussion of when to impose corrective labor as a means of punishment took place, the report may be a deliberate suggestion that this kind of punishment will be meted out more frequently in the future. A recent court case at which the defendants were sentenced to a corrective-labor colony involved five sixteen-year old youths from Leningrad. All five were convicted of jointly raping one "Tanya M." (Leningradskaya Pravda, November 29, 1961). The ring-leader was sentenced to 8 years in a corrective-labor colony.

12. "There Will Be An Agrogorod!" "Dawn of Communism", a sovkhoz along the highway to Kashira at the 59-kilometer mark from Moscow, is well on the way to becoming an agrogorod, according to an article bearing the above title in Sovetskaya Rossiya, December 1, 1961. Housing at the sovkhoz will be of the standard, four-storey, pre-fabricated type, widely built in Moscow in recent years. Two such blocks are to be completed at the sovkhoz by the end of this year. To residents of housing-short Moscow, some aspects of the future agrogorod must sound like heaven. "Every family will receive a well-built apartment of two, three, or four rooms. In the apartments are pantries and built-in cupboards."

On the other hand, obviously some rural citizens have to be convinced that the whole thing is a good idea, particularly those not qualified to receive the apartments described above. They will have to live in communal quarters. "Not far /from the four-storey buildings/ is a hotel-type house for small families and bachelors. Nothing at all like a dormitory. Each person will have his own room. For each, instead of a kitchen, there will be a hot-plate in the vestibule."

The report also discusses other cultural and technical features being installed at the "Dawn of Communism" sovkhoz, as well as its seven-year-plan production goals.

COMMENT: During a period in which the continued existence of private plots and kolkhozes is officially supported (Embassy's Despatch No. 434, Nov.25,1961), the construction of an agricultural "factory in the field", ~~xxxxxxx~~ is a timely

reminder that the agrogorod/concept of which N. S. Khrushchev was the author, remains a long-range objective of Soviet planners.

13. The Russian Language--Prime Tool in the Campaign to Russify the Nationalities.

Turkmenskaya Iskra, on November 29, 1961, announced the opening of the "first Republic scientific-methodological conference of Russian language teachers." The need to place more emphasis on teaching the Russian language is based upon its "ever-increasing importance." "It /Russian/ has become a means of mutual exchange of practical experience between peoples of different nationalities and specialties and exchanges of cultural achievements of peoples."

In a similar vein, in an article entitled "The Russian Language is a Native Tongue For All", Komsomoletz Uzbekistana on October 14, 1961, reports that the Uzbek Komsomol has called on the youth of Uzbekistan to start on the road to mastering Russian, since the "youth of Uzbekistan knows well that all progress in economics, science, culture, in the creation of a happy life for the people of our country, is due to the Communist Party, to the friendship and unselfish help of the great Russian people, of all people of our country."

MILITARY

(Negative)

For the Ambassador:

Boris H. Klosson
Counselor for Political Affairs

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